

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 KINSHA 08288 01 OF 02 311949Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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O 311745Z JUL 78  
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INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
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AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USINT HAVANA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 KINSHASA 8288

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DEPT PLEASE PASS AF ASST SEC MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PEPR, CG, AO  
SUBJECT: ZAIRIAN/ANGOLAN RELATIONS

REF: LAGOS 9374 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: IN DISCUSSING ZAIRIAN-ANGOLAN RELATIONS JULY 31,  
MOBUTU EXPRESSED GENERAL OPTIMISM RE PROSPECTS FOR CONTINUED

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PAGE 02 KINSHA 08288 01 OF 02 311949Z

PROGRESS TOWARD NORMALIZATION. ANGOLAN CHARGE WILL TAKE  
UP RESIDENCE IN KINSHASA JULY 31; GOZ DELEGATION WILL GO TO LUANDA  
AUGUST 1 TO START PREPARATIONS OF OPENING EMBASSY. MOBUTU  
SURMISES THAT CUBANS, WITH AN EYE ON HAVANA SUMMIT, ARE SUPPORT-  
ING NORMALIZATION WITH VIEW TO STOPPING EROSION OF THEIR POSITION  
AMONG NON-ALIGNED. MOBUTU EXPECTS PRESIDENT NUMAYRI WILL SOON  
ORCHESTRATE IMPLEMENTATION OF OAU BORDER VERIFICATION COMMISSION,

INCLUDING REQUEST TO US FOR LOGISTICAL SUPPORT (HELICOPTERS, AIRCRAFT). CAE TO REPLACE RWANDA AS COMMISSION MEMBER. END SUMMARY.

2. I MET PRIVATELY WITH MOBUTU AT HIS RESIDENCE MORNING JULY 31. I TOLD MOBUTU THAT BEFORE RETURNING SOON TO THE US FOR CONSULTATIONS AND LEAVE, I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO DISCUSS STATUS OF ZAIRIAN-ANGOLAN RELATIONS AS WELL AS RELATED MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST. I SAID I WAS IMPRESSED BY THE RAPID PROGRESS MADE TOWARD NORMALIZATION DURING THE PAST TWO WEEKS, INCLUDING THE JUST-ANNOUNCED ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN KINSHASA AND LUANDA. I SAID WE HOPED THE REASONABLE AND POSITIVE ATTITUDES WHICH BOTH GOVERNMENTS SEEMED TO BE MAINTAINING WOULD RESULT IN FURTHER PROGRESS IN RESOLVING THEIR BILATERAL PROBLEMS.

3. MOBUTU SAID HE WAS FRANKLY SURPRISED AND PLEASED BY ANGOLA'S VERY COOPERATIVE POSTURE. HE SAID THAT DURING THE MOST RECENT MEETINGS IN KINSHASA THIS PAST WEEKEND THE ANGOLAN DELEGATION HAD AGREED TO ALMOST EVERY PROPOSAL THE GOZ HAD MADE. AN ANGOLAN CHARGE WOULD TAKE UP RESIDENCE IN KINSHASA JULY 31. MEANWHILE, ON AUGUST 1 A ZAIRIAN DELEGATION WILL GO TO LUANDA TO START PREPARATIONS FOR OPENING AN EMBASSY THERE. HE REMAINED SOMEWHAT WARY REGARDING THE OTHER SIDE'S INTENTIONS AND NETO'S ABILITY TO ACT INDEPENDENTLY OF HIS CUBAN AND SOVIET SUPPORTERS. FOR EXAMPLE, HE NOTED, NETO'S DELEGATION TO KHARTOUM HAD INCLUDED NO FEWER THAN FOUR CUBAN OFFICIALS. HOWEVER, MOBUTU SAID HE WOULD STICK  
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PAGE 03 KINSHA 08288 01 OF 02 311949Z

TO HIS PROMISE TO GO JUST AS FAR AS NETO IN WORKING OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES. MOREOVER, MOBUTU SAID HE WAS BEGINNING TO BELIEVE THAT CUBA MAY IN FACT FEEL A NEED TO REDUCE ITS TROOP PRESENCE IN ANGOLA AND THEREBY COUNTER GROWING CRITICISM AMONG AFRICANS AND OTHER NON-ALIGNED STATES. MOBUTU THEREFORE SURMISED THAT THE CUBANS WERE SUPPORTING ZAIRIAN-ANGOLAN NORMALIZATION WITH A VIEW TO FACILITATING SOME TROOP WITHDRAWALS BEFORE THE HAVANA SUMMIT. MOBUTU SAID ZAIRE'S STRATEGY WOULD BE TO PURSUE NORMALIZATION ON THE ONE HAND, AND TO MAINTAIN STRONG PRESSURE ON CUBA'S VIOLATION OF NON-ALIGNMENT ON THE OTHER. HE NOTED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT ELEVEN AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS HAD FORMED A MODERATE BLOC WHICH AT THE KHARTOUM OAU SUMMIT HAD PROVED HIGHLY EFFECTIVE. MORE PRESSURE HAD BEEN EXERTED AT BELGRADE. THE MODERATES HAD ANOTHER YEAR TO PURSUE AND BROADEN THEIR EFFORTS BEFORE HAVANA, WHICH, MOBUTU CONFIRMED, ZAIRE HAD NO INTENTION OF ATTENDING.

4. TURNING TO THE ISSUE OF BORDER CONTROL, MOBUTU CLAIMED AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED AMONG ZAIRE, ANGOLA AND OAU PRESIDENT NUMAYRI ON THE BROAD OUTLINES OF A SYSTEM OF VERIFICATION. MOBUTU FURTHER CLAIMED THAT THE GOVERNMENTS NOMINATED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONTROL COMMISSION HAD "INDICATED THEIR AGREEMENT", EVEN THOUGH FORMALITIES MAY NOT YET HAVE BEEN COMPLETED BETWEEN THEM

AND THE OAU. THE ONLY CHANGE, MOBUTU SAID, WAS THAT THE CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE WOULD REPLACE RWANDA AS ONE OF THE FOUR COMMISSION MEMBERS.

5. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUERY, MOBUTU SAID THERE WAS ALSO AGREEMENT ON THE LOCATION OF TWELVE TO SIXTEEN OBSERVATION POSTS ALONG THE BORDER, HALF OF WHICH WOULD BE IN ZAIRE AND THE OTHER HALF AT CORRESPONDING POINTS IN ANGOLA. THESE POSTS WOULD BE MANNED BY OAU COMMISSION TEAMS. IN ADDITION, BASED IN EACH COUNTRY WOULD BE AN AIR MOBILE TEAM, CONSISTING OF TWO HELICOPTERS AND ONE OBSERVATION AIRCRAFT (E.G. TYPE PORTER OR CESSNA). HERE MOBUTU INTERJECTED THAT HE WAS COUNTING ON THE US FOR ASSISTANCE, RECALLING THAT HE HAD TWICE MENTIONED THIS DURING HIS CONSULTATIONS WITH AF/C DIRECTOR JUNIOR AND ME. MOREOVER, MOBUTU SAID, HE HAD  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 KINSHA 08288 01 OF 02 311949Z

DISCUSSED THIS WITH NUMAYRI, WHO HAD BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE IDEA OF US SUPPORT OF AN OAU PEACEKEEPING EFFORT. (LATER IN OUR CONVERSATION MOBUTU RETURNED TO THIS POINT, SAYING THAT HE WOULD BE DISAPPOINTED IF THE US, HAVING URGED BOTH PARTIES TO MOVE TOWARD NORMALIZATION, DID NOT FOLLOW THROUGH WITH NEEDED LOGISTICAL SUPPORT.

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PAGE 01 KINSHA 08288 02 OF 02 311936Z  
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 KINSHASA 8288

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HE ALSO MENTIONED THE PROBABLE NEED FOR SOME GROUND TRANSPORT, NOTABLY JEEPS.) I SAID I BELIEVED THE US WOULD CONSIDER SYMPATHETICALLY ANY REQUESTS FOR SUPPORT, BUT I THOUGHT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT BORDER CONTROL BE SEEN AS A GENUINE OAU OPERATION. MOBUTU AGREED ENTIRELY, AND SAID THAT ALL FORMAL REQUESTS FOR SUPPORT WOULD COME ONLY FROM THE OAU. IN THIS REGARD, MOBUTU SAID HE WOULD SOON SEND ITINERANT GOZ AMBASSADOR LENGEMA TO KHARTOUM TO DISCUSS WITH NUMAYRI THE MODALITIES OF VERIFICATION INCLUDING SUPPORT REQUIREMENTS. MOBUTU AGREED WITH MY OBSERVATION THAT THE NIGERIANS, AS A COMMISSION MEMBER WITH

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PAGE 02 KINSHA 08288 02 OF 02 311936Z

CONSIDERABLE ASSETS, MIGHT BE IN A POSITION TO PROVIDE LOGISTICAL ASSISTANCE; HE THOUGHT, HOWEVER, THAT SINCE THE NIGERIANS WERE THE CHOICE OF ONE OF THE TWO PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE, IT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE FOR THEM TO PLAY A ROLE GREATER THAN THAT OF OTHER COMMISSION MEMBERS.

6. I THEN RAISED THE QUESTION OF REFUGEE REPATRIATION, NOTING THIS WAS AN ISSUE WHICH INTERESTED US BOTH ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS AND AS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN STRENGTHENING LONG-TERM STABILITY IN THE AREA. I ALSO NOTED OUR ASSISTANCE TO SUCH ORGANIZATIONS AS THE UNHCR IN REFUGEE MATTERS AND THE POSSIBILITY THAT, DEPENDING ON DEVELOPMENTS, WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO HELP IN THIS ASPECT OF ZAIRIAN-ANGOLAN RAPPROCHEMENT. MOBUTU SAID NETO HAD TOLD HIM A NUMBER OF ZAIRIAN REFUGEES IN ANGOLA HAD ALREADY ASKED TO RETURN, ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT SEEM TO HAVE ANY IDEA OF HOW MANY WOULD EVENTUALLY SEEK REPATRIATION. HE SAID HE HAD ALREADY DISCUSSED THE MATTER WITH THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (HE DID NOT INDICATE JUST WHERE OR WHEN) AND THAT HE HAD CHARGED COMMISSIONER FOR TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION ENULU TO COORDINATE WITH UNHCR-KINSHASA IN WORKING OUT A REPATRIATION PLAN. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUERY, MOBUTU EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE UNHCR'S ROLE WOULD BE EXTENDED TO INCLUDE VERIFICATION OF THE REFUGEES' SAFETY AND WELL-BEING FOLLOWING THEIR RETURN TO ZAIRE. HE SAID LISTS OF RETURNEES WOULD BE CAREFULLY DRAWN UP AND MAINTAINED FOR THIS PURPOSE. BEYOND THIS, HOWEVER, MOBUTU DID NOT INDICATE MUCH ATTENTION HAD YET BEEN FOCUSED ON THIS OBVIOUSLY COMPLEX AND POLITICALLY SENSITIVE PROBLEM.

7. COMMENT: IS WAS NOT ABLE TO COVER OTHER MATTERS SUCH AS THE BENGUELA RAILROAD AND GOZ INTENTIONS RE UNITA IN OUR MEETING, WHICH WAS INTERRUPTED BY MORE THAN THE USUAL NUMBER OF PHONE CALLS AND AN UNENDING PARADE OF MOBUTU OFFSPRING TREKING IN TO SAY GOOD MORNING TO PAPA AND HIS QUEST. MOBUTU SEEMED GENERALLY ENCOURAGED

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PAGE 03 KINSHA 08288 02 OF 02 311936Z

BY RECENT PROGRESS, AND IF PROBLEMS HAVE DEVELOPED WITH RESPECT TO PARTICIPANTS IN THE VERIFICATION COMMISSION (REFTEL) HE DID NOT ALLUDE TO THEM. FROM BOTH THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL STAND-POINTS, THE SWITCH FROM RWANDA TO THE CAE WOULD APPEAR UNFORTUNATE. THE REASONS FOR THE SWITCH ARE NOT CLEAR, ALTHOUGH WE KNOW THAT ZAIRE ORIGINALLY PROPOSED-- AND ANGOLA REJECTED-- THE CAE AS A COMMISSION CANDIDATE. IT MAY BE THAT MOBUTU FEELS INDEBTED TO BOKASSA, PARTICULARLY AFTER THE CAE FAILED TO GAIN A BERTH ON THE SHABA PAN-AFRICAN FORCE. NOR IS IT CLEAR WHETHER THE SWITCH IS A FIRM DECISION OR JUST A GOZ PROPOSAL, WHICH MOBUTU MAY HAVE MENTIONED TO TEST OUR REACTION IN THE LIGHT OF OUR WELL-KNOWN UNHAPPINESS WITH BOKASSA'S POLICIES. I DECIDED NOT TO COMMENT, FIGURING THAT THE AFRICAN PARTIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED COULD SORT THIS ONE OUT AND THAT GRATUITOUS INTERJECTION OF OUR VIEWS AT THIS POINT MIGHT IMPLY MORE OF AN INVOLVEMENT IN THE COMMISSION'S SUPPORT THAN WE ARE YET PREPARED TO CONSIDER. MOREOVER, WHATEVER REQUEST FOR SUPPORT WE MAY EVENTUALLY RECEIVE WOULD PRESUMABLY BE MADE BY NUMAYRI IN THE NAME OF THE OAU RATHER THAN OF ANY INDIVIDUAL COMMISSION MEMBER.

8. FINALLY, IT WAS CLEAR FROM MOBUTU'S COMMENTS THAT HE APPRECIATES THE DISCRETION WITH WHICH WE HAVE PLAYED OUR ROLE IN BRINGING THE PARTIES TOGETHER. I BELIEVE HE WILL CONTINUE TO VALUE OUR SUPPORT AND BE RECEPTIVE TO OUR COUNSEL, PROVIDED WE MAINTAIN OUR LOW PROFILE. HOWEVER, THIS MAY NOT EXTEND TO THE KEY AREA OF FUTURE GOZ SUPPORT FOR ANGOLAN DISSIDENT MOVEMENTS, WHERE PENDING A FINAL RESOLUTION OF HIS PROBLEMS WITH ANGOLA MOBUTU CAN BE EXPECTED TO PLAY HIS CARDS EVEN CLOSER TO HIS CHES THAN HE HAS ALREADY.

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